

# BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

A CHINESE WEEKLY OF  
NEWS AND VIEWS

- New State Leaders
- Yao Yilin Speaks at UNCTAD



# BEIJING REVIEW

Published every Monday by  
BEIJING REVIEW  
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing  
The People's Republic of China

Vol. 26, No. 26

June 27, 1983

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Distributed by China Publications  
Centre (GUOJI SHUBIAN),  
P. O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Subscription prices (1 year):

Australia . . . . . A. \$12.00	USA . . . . . US\$13.00
New Zealand . . . . . NZ. \$14.00	UK . . . . . £6.80
Canada . . . . . Can. \$15.00	

In the current drive for socialist modernization, China's democratic parties are playing a more active role than at any time since liberation.

They constitute an important component of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a patriotic united front organization led by the Chinese Communist Party and an important form of socialist democracy in the political life of the Chinese people. The united front was one of the three weapons with which the Chinese people won the victory of the new-democratic revolution. Now, more broadly based and with greater strength, it has become indispensable to the modernization of China and to the reunification of the motherland.

Forced to stop functioning during the "cultural revolution," the democratic parties have come into their own again in the last few years and are now playing an active part in running the state. Drawing on their own characteristics and strengths — many members are experts in the cultural and scientific fields with broad social contacts and influence — they have expanded the horizons of their activities and are working hard for the interests of the nation and the people. In this way they have also expanded their own ranks. Their endeavours include:

- Participation in consultations on major state policies and principles. They have presented many suggestions on such matters as speeding up agricultural development and readjusting wages, prices and the national

## NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

### Democratic parties active in modernization drive

economic plan as well as on important state personnel changes.

- **Running schools.** They have established 600 schools and training classes with a total enrolment of 100,000. In Shanghai, China's largest metropolis, 35,000 job-awaiting youths and workers and staff members have been enrolled in spare-time schools for remedial studies run by democratic parties. 17,000 of whom have already graduated in the last three years.

- **Economic consulting services.** For example, 5,000 members of the China Democratic National Construction Association have helped labour departments, neighbourhood committees and state enterprises and institutions run 2,500 collective enterprises which provided 83,000 jobs.

- **Sending experts to areas inhabited by minority peoples** to give lectures, train teachers and provide economic advice. Early this year, five democratic parties mapped out 151 projects in co-operation with 10 border provinces and cities, including forums on economics, science and technology, education and culture; short-term training classes in medicine and public health, economic management and accounting and statistics; and the provision of consulting services for developing local natural resources, energy utilization and economic planning.

China has eight democratic parties: the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party, the China Zhi Gong Dang, the Jiu San Society and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.

Formed during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the struggle for democracy and against Kuomintang rule (1946-48), each party has a glorious history. Since their inception, they have co-operated to varying degrees with the Chinese Communist Party and have gradually developed this relationship in the revolutionary struggle. These political parties at first had as their social basis members mainly from the national bourgeoisie and the urban upper petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and other patriots.

In September 1949 they joined the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and, together with the Chinese Communist Party, worked out a Common Programme and elected the leaders of the Central People's Government through democratic consultations. The People's Republic of China came into being since then.

After the establishment of the People's Republic, the dem-

ocratic parties adopted the Common Programme and the latter Constitution as their own political programmes and joined the governments at all levels and took part in construction of various fields.

The democratic parties are not opposition parties of the ruling party, the Chinese Communist Party. Their relationship is one of co-operation between friendly parties with the Chinese Communist Party as the core of leadership.

Following the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe," the Communist Party respects the various democratic parties' political freedom, organizational independence and legal equality within the framework of the Constitution.

The social bases of the democratic parties have changed steadily with the development of society. As classes have been basically eradicated in China, each party has become an alliance of, and a liaison for, a particular group of socialist workers and patriots in support of socialism. Since October 1979, these parties have recruited 30,000 new members.

The democratic parties are determined to make fresh contributions to the accomplishment of the three major tasks of modernization, the reunification of the motherland and the struggle of opposing imperialism and hegemonism and maintaining world peace.

— Political Editor An Zhiguo



## First Session of Sixth NPC closes

The First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress ended on June 21 with a call on all Chinese people to unite and implement the Constitution, fulfil the Sixth Five-Year Plan, realize the modernization programme and make China a socialist state with a high level of culture and democracy.

The most important result of the 16-day NPC session was, by far, the formation of a new state leadership that enjoys great popular support.

The session also examined and approved the government work report, the 1983 plan for national economic and social development and the state final accounts for 1982.

The closing ceremony at the Great Hall of the People was held at 15:00 hours. Chen Pixian, the executive chairman, presided over the ceremony which was attended by 2,877 deputies.

The closing meeting adopted a resolution approving the government work report. The session maintains that the last government effectively led and organized the Chinese people of all nationalities in carrying out socialist modernization and achieved great successes in all fields of work. The session expresses satisfaction with the work of the State Council.

The session holds that the government work report delivered by Zhao Ziyang is marked by the spirit of seeking truth from facts. The tasks it sets for the coun-

try's political, economic, educational, scientific, cultural, national defence and diplomatic endeavours in the coming five years are practical and can be achieved through hard efforts.

The session notes that socialist economic construction is the central task for the government and the people. They must always adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and the policy for steady progress, do a good job of the economic readjustment, step up the reforms, concentrate funds on key projects, intensify the technical transformation of existing enterprises, ensure a steady growth of the national economy and lay a solid foundation for the economic take-off in the 1990s.

The closing meeting also endorsed resolutions approving the report by Vice-Premier Yao Yilin on the 1983 plan for national economic and social development, the report by Minister of Finance Wang Bingqian on the state final accounts for 1982, the report by Vice-Chairman of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee Yang Shangkun, the report by President of the Supreme People's Court Jiang Hua and the report by Procurator-General of the Supreme People's Procuratorate Huang Huoqing.

Li Xiannian, President of the People's Republic of China, made a speech at the closing ceremony. He said that this NPC session has been a great success. It will exert a tremendous impact on China's effort to pro-

mote socialist material civilization and ethics and to strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system, he said.

The President called on the entire nation to work hard with one heart and one mind, in the spirit of the present session, and continue the advance towards the magnificent goal of making China a modern socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy.

In his speech at the ceremony, Chairman Peng Zhen of the NPC Standing Committee said that all forces must be mobilized to put the Constitution into effect in the country's political, social and other spheres of life. He stressed the importance of strengthening socialist democracy and legality in accordance with the Constitution. "Guided by the Constitution, we must continue to advance unswervingly towards the institutionalization and legalization of socialist democracy," he said.

He called on the workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the country to unite, respect and learn from one another, work together and concentrate effort on socialist modernization.

The First Session of the Sixth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which was held simultaneously with the First Session of the Sixth NPC, ended on June 22.

## New state leaders elected and approved

On June 18, the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress elected through secret ballots Li Xiannian President of the People's Republic of China, Peng Zhen Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, approved the president's nomination of Zhao Ziyang as Premier of the State Council, and elected Deng Xiaoping Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China.

The meeting also elected Ulanhu Vice-President of the People's Republic of China and Chen Pixian and 19 others Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (see name list).

Also elected were 133 NPC Standing Committee Members, including workers, peasants, army men, cadres, intellectuals and members of democratic parties as well as people without party affiliation, people from minority nationalities and from scientific and technological, literary and art, educational and public health circles.

On June 20, following Premier Zhao Ziyang's nomination, the session approved the appointment of four vice-premiers and 10 state councillors as well as ministers of 45 ministries and commissions (see name list); following the nomination of Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China, it approved the appointment of four vice-chairmen (see name list) and four members of the Central Military Commission. The session also elected Zheng Tianxiang President of the Supreme People's Court and Yang Yichen Procurator-General of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

At a news briefing for Chinese and foreign journalists on the afternoon of June 18, Zeng Tao, Deputy Secretary-General of the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, disclosed that certain changes had been made with regard to the candidates in the election.

He said that Liao Chengzhi had been nominated as a candidate for the vice-presidency of the People's Republic of China before he died on June 10. Liao Chengzhi, an outstand-

ing social activist and a fine leader of the Communist Party and state, would have been elected to that post if he were still living, Zeng Tao said.

After Liao Chengzhi died, the presidium nominated Ulanhu, Vice-Chairman of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee, as his substitute on the basis of extensive consultations and discussions. Ulanhu, a deputy of Mongolian nationality, is a veteran Communist. For a long time in the past, he has held important leading posts at both national and local levels and has enjoyed high prestige among the people, Zeng Tao said.

Zeng Tao added that, in their deliberations and discussions, many deputies proposed the election of an additional vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee representing the scientific and technological circles and an increase in the number of representatives of the Mongolian and Zhuang nationalities on the NPC Standing Committee. The presidium accepted these proposals and added Yan Jici, a noted physicist, to the list of candidates for NPC Standing Committee vice-chairmanship, and Qinggeltai,

Deputies casting their votes.



a Mongolian deputy, and Jiang Jiafu, a Zhuang deputy, as additional candidates for the NPC Standing Committee.

## Biographies of new leaders



**Li Xiannian**

Born 1909; native of Hongan County, Hubei Province; member of the Communist Party of China since 1927.

He is now Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

He became a member of the standing committee of a township peasants' association in 1926, participated in the Huanggan peasants' uprising of 1927 and then joined the guerrillas. After 1929, he served successively as secretary of a district Party committee, chairman of a county Soviet, regiment and division political commissar of the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army and political commissar of its 30th Army. He

took part in the Long March and, in 1937, led the remaining troops of the Western Route Army in fighting all the way to Xinjiang Province.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he served as secretary of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Area Party committee, and commander and political commissar of the 5th Division of the New Fourth Army.

During the War of Liberation (1946-49), he was commander of the Central Plains Military Area, deputy commander of the Greater Central Plains Military Area, and deputy secretary of the Central Plains Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, he became secretary of the Hubei provincial Party committee, Chairman of the Hubei Provincial People's Government, the CPC Central Committee, commander and political commissar of the Hubei Military Area, deputy secretary of the Central South-China Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Central South China Military and Administrative Committee, secretary of the Wuhan municipal Party committee and mayor of Wuhan.

After 1954, he served as Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Finance, Director of the Fifth Office of the State Council, deputy leader of the group in charge of financial and economic affairs under the CPC Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Member of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the CPC

Central Committee. He was Member of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the CPC Eighth Central Committee, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Ninth and 10th Central Committee, and Vice-Chairman of the CPC 11th Central Committee.



**Peng Zhen**

Born 1902; native of Quwo County, Shanxi Province.

He joined the Chinese Communist Youth League in 1923 and became a member of the Communist Party of China the same year. He is now Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

After joining the revolution, he served successively as secretary of the Taiyuan prefectural committee of the Communist Youth League, secretary of the Trade Union of the Zhengding-Taiyuan Railway concurrently in charge of Party work in Shijiazhuang, secretary of the First, Second and Third District Party Committee under the Tianjin

prefectural Party committee, secretary of its Workers' Affairs Committee and head of its Organization Department.

During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), he served as head of the Workers' Affairs Department of the Shunzhi provincial Party committee, secretary of the Tangshan city Party committee, head of the Organization Department of the Shunzhi provincial Party committee, secretary of the Tianjin municipal Party committee, and head of the Organization Department of the Northern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he was successively head of the Organization Department of the Northern Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, secretary of the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei Sub-bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Vice-President of the Central Party School, and head of the Organization Department and of the Urban Work Department under the CPC Central Committee.

During the War of Liberation (1946-49), he served successively as secretary of the Northeast Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, political commissar of the Democratic Allied Army, and head of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, he served as first secretary of the Beijing municipal Party committee and Mayor of Beijing, and Member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.

After 1979, he served as Director of the Commission of Legislative Affairs under the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and

Secretary of the Committee of Political and Legal Affairs under the CPC Central Committee. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the First, Second, Third and Fifth NPC; Vice-Chairman of the Second, Third and Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; and Member of the Political Bureau of the Seventh, Eighth and 11th Central Committee of the CPC.



**Zhao Ziyang**

Born 1919; native of Huaxian County, Henan Province.

He joined the Chinese Communist Youth League in 1932, and the Communist Party of China in February 1938. He is now Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), he served successively as secretary of the Party's working committee and of the Party committee of Huaxian County, head of the organization and propaganda departments of the northern Henan prefectural Party committee, and secretary of the Par-

ty committees of the second and fourth prefectures of the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Area.

During the War of Liberation (1946-49), he served successively as secretary of the Party committee of the 4th prefecture of the Hebei-Shandong-Henan Area, deputy secretary of the Tongbai Area Party committee, and secretary of the Nanyang prefectural Party committee.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, he served successively as member, standing committee member and secretary-general of the South China Sub-bureau of the CPC Central Committee, head of its rural work department and deputy secretary; member of the secretariat, second secretary and then first secretary of the Guangdong provincial Party committee; secretary of the Party committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and vice-chairman of its revolutionary committee; first secretary of the Guangdong provincial Party committee and chairman of the Guangdong provincial revolutionary committee; first secretary of the Sichuan provincial Party committee, chairman of the Sichuan provincial revolutionary committee, and first political commissar of the Chengdu Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; and Vice-Premier and then Premier of the State Council.

He was elected Member of the 10th Central Committee of the CPC and Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC 11th Central Committee. He was elected Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC 11th Central Committee at its Fourth Plenary Session, Member of the



Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at its Fifth Plenary Session, and Vice-Chairman of the 11th Central Committee at its Sixth Plenary Session.



**Deng Xiaoping**

Born 1904; native of Guangan County, Sichuan Province.

He joined the Chinese Communist Youth League in 1922 and became a member of the Communist Party of China in 1924. He is now Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC and Chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee.

He went to France on a work-study programme in 1920 and started to do Party work there. In 1926, he went to study in the Soviet Union. After 1927, he worked as army political commissar in the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, director of the political department of an army group, Deputy Director of the General Political

Department of the Red Army and Secretary-General of the CPC Central Committee. He took part in the Long March.

After 1937, he became political commissar of the 129th Division of the Eighth Route Army and secretary of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

After 1945, he worked as political commissar of the Second Field Army and secretary of the Central Plains and East China Bureaus of the CPC Central Committee.

After 1949, he served as secretary of the Southwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, political commissar of the Southwest Military Area, Secretary-General of the CPC Central Committee, Director of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the State Council, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and concurrently Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

He was elected Member of the Political Bureau of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Eighth Central Committee and concurrently its General Secretary, and Vice-Chairman of the CPC 10th and 11th Central Committee. He was also deputy to the Second through the Fifth National People's Congress, Member of the Standing Committee of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Chairman of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC.

## Deng Yingchao elected chairperson of CPPCC

At a plenary meeting of the First Session of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee on June 17, Deng Yingchao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, was elected Chairperson of the Sixth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The meeting also elected 29 vice-chairmen (see name list) and 297 standing committee members.



**Deng Yingchao**

Born 1904; native of Guangshan County, Henan Province.

She is now Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

She took part in the May 4th Movement of 1919, helped set up women's and students' federations in Tianjin and, together with Zhou Enlai, Guo Longzhen, Liu Qingyang and some other



comrades, established the Awakening Society, a progressive student organization.

During the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), she helped set up in Tianjin the Women's Rights League and the Socialist Youth League. After becoming a member of the CPC in 1925, she continued to work among the young people, women and students; led the Association for Supporting the May 30th Movement of 1925; became head of the women's work department of the CPC's Tianjin district committee; and sat on the Guangdong-Guangxi district Party committee, serving concurrently as head of its women's work department.

During the Second Revolutionary Civil War period (1927-37), she served as Secretary of the Women's Work Committee of the CPC Central Committee in Shanghai, and attended the Sixth National Congress of the CPC in the summer of 1928 as a non-voting participant. Later, she became an assistant in the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee and secretary of the general Party branch committee of the departments directly under the Central Committee. In 1932, she worked as an assistant in the Propaganda and Organization Departments of the Jiangxi Soviet Area Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and, in 1933, she became secretary-general of the Bureau. In 1934, she took part in the Long March. After her arrival in northern Shaanxi, she served as Secretary of the White Area Work Department of the CPC Central Committee and head of the Central Committee's Confidential Section.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45),

she was in charge of women's work at the Wuhan Office of the Eighth Route Army, and was member of the Women's Work Committee of the Central Committee's Changjiang Bureau. Later, she went to Chongqing where she served as member of the Central Committee's South China Bureau and secretary of its Women's Work Committee, and member of the Chongqing Wartime Committee for the Protection of Children. She became Deputy Secretary of the Women's Work Committee of the CPC Central Committee following the Party's Seventh National Congress.

During the War of Liberation (1946-49), she was a member of the CPC delegation in Chongqing and then in Nanjing, did united front work in the old Political Consultative Conference, served as member of the Rear Area Working Committee of the CPC Central Committee and as Acting Secretary of its Women's Work Committee.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, she became Vice-President and then Honorary President of the All-China Women's Federation and deputy secretary of its leading Party members' group, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's National Committee in Defence of Children, member of the Standing Committee of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, member of the Standing Committee of the First through the Third National People's Congress, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Fourth and Fifth NPC, and Second Secretary of the CPC's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

She was elected Alternate Member of the CPC Seventh

Central Committee, Member of the CPC Eighth through the 12th Central Committee, and was elected an additional Member of the Political Bureau at the Third Plenary Session of the CPC 11th Central Committee.

## Name list of state leaders

**President of the People's Republic of China:**

Li Xiannian

**Vice-President:**

Ulanhu

**Chairman of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee:**

Peng Zhen

**Vice-Chairmen:**

Chen Pixian, Wei Guoqing (Zhuang nationality), Geng Biao, Hu Juewen, Xu Deheng, Peng Chong, Wang Renzhong, Shi Liang (f), Zhu Xuefan, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme (Tibetan), Bainqen Erdini Qoigyai Gyaincain (Tibetan), Seypidin (Uyghur), Zhou Gucheng, Yan Jici, Hu Yuzhi, Rong Yiren, Ye Fei, Liao Hansheng, Han Xianchu, Huang Hua

**Premier of the State Council:**

Zhao Ziyang

**Vice-Premiers:**

Wan Li, Yao Yilin, Li Peng, Tian Jiyun

**State Councillors:**

Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Kang Shion, Chen Muhua (f), Ji Pengfei, Zhang Jingfu, Zhang Aiping, Wu Xueqian, Wang Bingqian, Song Ping

**Secretary-General:**

Tian Jiyun (concurrently)

**Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC:**

Deng Xiaoping



Top: Li Xiannian at work.

Bottom: While in the Philippines in March 1978, Li Xiannian visited the International Rice Research Institute.

Top Right: Peng Zhen, then Mayor of Beijing, spoke at a meeting in January 1956.

Middle Right: Peng Zhen on an inspection tour of the Daqing Oilfield in May 1964.

Bottom Right: Zhao Ziyang (third from left), then a leading member of the Guangdong provincial Party committee, welcomed representatives to a meeting at a railway station in June 1965.





Top Left: Deng Xiaoping visiting a PLA naval unit in August 1979.

Middle Left: Deng Xiaoping (first from left) in the headquarters of the Second Field Army in 1949.

Bottom Left: Zhao Ziyang on an inspection tour of the countryside in Heilongjiang Province in July 1980.

Top: Deng Yingchao visited in September 1972 Meiyuan Xincun in Nanjing, office of the CPC delegation after the victory of the anti-Japanese war. First from left is Liao Chengzhi

Bottom: Deng Yingchao visited France in June 1980. She is signing the visitor's book in the Senate of the Republic

**Vice-Chairmen:**

Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian,  
Nie Rongzhen, Yang Shang-  
kun

## Ministers under the State Council

**Minister of Foreign Affairs:**

Wu Xueqian (concurrently)

**Minister of National Defence:**

Zhang Aiping (concurrently)

**Minister in Charge of the State  
Planning Commission:**

Song Ping (concurrently)

**Minister in Charge of the State  
Economic Commission:**

Zhang Jingfu (concurrently)

**Minister in Charge of the State  
Commission for Restructur-  
ing Economic System:**

Zhao Ziyang (concurrently)

**Minister in Charge of the State  
Science and Technology Com-  
mission:**

Fang Yi (concurrently)

**Minister in Charge of the Com-  
mission of Science, Technol-  
ogy and Industry for National  
Defence:**

Chen Bin

**Minister in Charge of the State  
Nationalities Affairs Com-  
mission:**

Yang Jingren

**Minister of Public Security:**

Liu Fuzhi

**Minister of State Security:**

Ling Yun

**Minister of Civil Affairs:**

Cui Naifu

**Minister of Justice:**

Zou Yu

**Minister of Finance:**

Wang Bingqian (concurrent-  
ly)

**Auditor-General of the Audit-  
ing Administration:**

Yu Mingtao

**President of the People's Bank  
of China:**

Lu Peijian

**Minister of Commerce:**

Liu Yi

**Minister of Foreign Economic  
Relations and Trade:**

Chen Muhua (f. concurrent-  
ly)

**Minister of Agriculture, Ani-  
mal Husbandry and Fishery:**

He Kang

**Minister of Forestry:**

Yang Zhong

**Minister of Water Resources  
and Electric Power:**

Qian Zhengying (f)

**Minister of Urban and Rural  
Construction and Environ-  
mental Protection:**

Li Ximing

**Minister of Geology and Min-  
eral Resources:**

Sun Daguang

**Minister of Metallurgical In-  
dustry:**

Li Dongye

**Minister of Machine-Building  
Industry:**

Zhou Jiannan

**Minister of Nuclear Industry:**

Jiang Xinxiong

**Minister of Aeronautics In-  
dustry:**

Mo Wenxiang

**Minister of Electronics In-  
dustry:**

Jiang Zemin

**Minister of Ordnance Industry:**

Yu Yi

**Minister of Astronautics In-  
dustry:**

Zhang Jun

**Minister of Coal Industry:**

Gao Yangwen

**Minister of Petroleum Industry:**

Tang Ke

**Minister of Chemical In-  
dustry:**

Qin Zhongda

**Minister of Textile Industry:**

Wu Wenying (f)

**Minister of Light Industry:**

Yang Bo

**Minister of Railways:**

Chen Puru

**Minister of Communications:**

Li Qing

**Minister of Posts and Telecom-  
munications:**

Wen Minsheng

**Minister of Labour and Per-  
sonnel:**

Zhao Shouyi

**Minister of Culture:**

Zhu Muzhi

**Director-General of Xinhua  
News Agency:**

Mu Qing

**Minister of Radio and Televi-  
sion:**

Wu Lengxi

**Minister of Education:**

He Dongchang

**Minister of Public Health:**

Cui Yueli

**Minister in Charge of the State  
Physical Culture and Sports  
Commission:**

Li Menghua

**Minister in Charge of the State  
Family Planning Commis-  
sion:**

Qian Xinzhong

## CPPCC leaders

**Chairman:**

Deng Yingchao (f)

**Vice-Chairmen:**

Yang Jingren, Liu Lantao, Lu  
Dingyi, Cheng Zihua, Kang  
Keping(f), Ji Fang, Zhuang  
Xiquan, Pagbalha Geleg  
Namgyai, Hu Ziang, Wang  
Kunlun, Qian Changzhao,  
Dong Qiwu, Tao Zhiyue,  
Zhou Shutao, Yang Chengwu,  
Xiao Hua, Chen Zaidao, Lu  
Zhengcao, Zhou Jianren, Zhou  
Peiyuan, Burhan Shahidi,  
Miao Yuntai, Wang Guang-  
ying, Deng Zhaoxiang, Fei  
Xiaotong, Zhao Puchu, Ye  
Shengtao, Qu Wu, Ba Jin



*Thailand-Viet Nam***Nguyen Co Thach's barbed roses**

Bangkok Post on June 11 published a cartoon, depicting Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach with a bunch of thorny roses arriving in Bangkok for his three-day unofficial visit to Thailand, June 8-10, following the massive Vietnamese intrusion into the eastern border areas of Thailand

**Aims of His Visit**

The aims of Thach's visit with roses in hand were as follows:

First, turning to diplomatic tactics after the failure of their military intrusion into Thailand, the Vietnamese authorities attempted to lure Thailand and the other ASEAN countries into "regional dialogues" or even a "regional conference" designed by Viet Nam

The UN resolutions on Kampuchea stipulate that the Kampuchea problem should be solved within the framework of the United Nations in line with UN resolutions and the resolution of a related international conference. But the Vietnamese authorities have ignored the UN stand and refused to implement the UN resolutions so as to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea. They have insisted on their proposals for "regional dialogues" and a "regional conference," even though these have been repeatedly rejected by the ASEAN and other countries

While in Thailand, Thach offered a new proposal which set

the improvement of relations between the Indochinese countries and ASEAN as a precondition for ensuring peace in Southeast Asia and laid the Kampuchea problem aside. Those Thais who saw through this trick cautioned that only when the Vietnamese troops are completely withdrawn from Kampuchea can the relations between the Indochinese and ASEAN nations be improved and peace in the region be safeguarded. The cart must never be put before the horse, they stressed

Secondly, Thach hoped to win a breathing spell militarily and break Viet Nam's diplomatic isolation

Although the Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea still enjoy a slight degree of superiority in the battlefield, they are finding the going tougher and tougher. They need a breathing spell

Having suffered a serious diplomatic setback at the last UN General Assembly in a vote on the representation of Democratic Kampuchea, it was not strange that Thach visited Thailand as the new UN General Assembly session was approaching. Posing as a lover of peace, he declared that his country was considering Thailand's proposal that Viet Nam withdraw 30 kilometres from the Thai-Kampuchean border, that his country was ready to let Kampuchea become an

"independent, neutral and non-aligned country" and that he acknowledged the existence of the Kampuchea question.

With this fine-sounding rhetoric, Thach hoped, in vain, to silence the international condemnation of Viet Nam

Thirdly, Thach hoped to split ASEAN and undermine the unity of the multi-party government of Thailand

He offered to visit Thailand and meet the leaders of the three ruling parties, in an attempt to exploit their contradictions. However, the new Thai cabinet had a unanimous view on foreign policy and foiled Thach's attempt to divide it.

What is more, Thach tried to create an impression that his meeting with the Thai leaders was wrapped in mystery. He even spread the word that the solution to the Kampuchea question lies with China, attempting to arouse suspicion among the ASEAN countries and sow discord between friendly countries

During the talks, Thach reportedly tried his best to avoid mentioning the Kampuchea question, and when questioned on this issue, he just reiterated his opposition to the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. He, in fact, turned down Thailand's proposal for a 30-kilometre withdrawal when he said that such a move should be "reciprocal"

In short, Thach was waving a bunch of barbed roses that would have drawn blood from any hand that accepted them.

— Yang Mu

## Indonesia

# Making economic readjustments

**I**NDONESIA is making major economic readjustments to cope with the effects of economic recession.

The Indonesian Minister Coordinator for Economic, Financial and Industrial Affairs, Ali Wardhana, recently said that his country has decided to indefinitely postpone work on 50 to 60 major projects estimated to cost US\$21,000 million. The postponed projects are mainly those requiring large amounts of imported equipment and parts, such as aromatic and aluminium plants, oil refineries and petrochemical works.

This decision is actually an amendment to the policy announced early this year of pressing ahead with economic expansion. It also is one of a series of new economic measures adopted by the government over the past five months aimed at getting the sluggish economy moving again.

In March, the government announced a 38 per cent devaluation of the rupiah vis-a-vis the US dollar and more recently it has announced a new monetary policy under which state banks are free to fix their own interest rates for loans and deposit accounts. The new policy also abolishes credit ceilings for foreign and domestic banks and exempts from taxation interest on foreign exchange deposits. The new measures are designed to generate more capital for financing development projects.

Indonesia's decision to make economic readjustments was a response to the world economic

recession. In the past year, the country experienced growing economic difficulties with a decline in industrial production and a sharp drop in foreign trade earnings. By the end of March the country's balance of payments deficit hit US\$7,000 million and was expected to reach \$10,000 million in fiscal 1983-84 if the government had not decided to postpone work on the 50 to 60 projects. Through these measures, the Indonesian Government hopes to keep its budget deficit at or below \$6,500 million.

The most serious problem facing Indonesia is the contradiction between the expansion of projects already under construction and the lack of necessary funds due to the reduction in the

national income. Despite its decision to cut back spending in the fiscal 1983 budget adopted in February, the government has carried out a policy of expanding the economy. Total government approved spending for 1983 is about \$24,000 million, an increase of 6.1 per cent over last year's budget. The approved expenditure for development is nearly \$13,500 million, a 7.9 per cent increase over 1982.

However, some people in the administration became worried about the huge capital construction investments and payments on foreign debts. They demanded that a certain number of large projects be postponed, and that some projects be modified or cancelled.

— Wang Dadao

## France

# New stress on Atlantic alliance

**M**EETING in Paris for the first time in 17 years, the foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization ended their spring meeting on June 10 announcing strong support for the planned December deployment of US missiles in Europe if the US-Soviet intermediate nuclear force talks in Geneva remain deadlocked.

## Closer Ties

The significance of the French initiative in hosting the NATO session is obvious. Paris' intention to support Atlantic unity was confirmed by the meeting's opening speech by French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy who noted that, given the delicate state of East-West relations, the Atlantic alliance should be con-

solidated and that France, while maintaining its independence, must also be a partner in the alliance.

Addressing the 16 NATO foreign ministers at a dinner in their honour on June 9, French President Francois Mitterrand stressed that France remains committed to NATO and the fact that France has pulled out from NATO's integrated command does not mean that it will not accept NATO's demand or guarantee NATO's unity. He also said the NATO members should demonstrate their "will" to guarantee their collective security, especially in view of the threat from Soviet SS-20 missiles.

Noting that "misunderstanding has often brought setbacks to NATO" in the past, Mitter-

rand called for "dialogues" among treaty members

The final communique of the NATO ministerial meeting, endorsed by France, stressed the "sustained increase in Soviet military strength in Europe and capability for military action worldwide" and warned that "the Soviet Union has relentlessly continued its deployment of modern SS-20 missiles, greatly expanding its monopoly in this class of weapons," thus creating an "entirely new threat for Europe."

### French Interests Threatened

The French socialist leaders have adopted a more Atlantic approach than their predecessors because they believe that the Soviet deployment of the SS-20 missiles has upset the balance of forces in Europe and threatens the fundamental interests of France

In a televised speech on June 8, Mitterrand stated that US and Soviet strategic forces have reached a rough parity in the world but not in Europe. He noted specifically that the Soviet Union is the only European country that has medium-range missiles and has so far deployed up to 360 of them — each with three warheads — that can hit any target in Western Europe from northern Norway to southern Italy in 15 minutes.

Although the NATO communique endorsed continued US-Soviet negotiations on nuclear disarmament, many observers believe that the present Geneva talks will remain deadlocked and that the NATO-sanctioned deployment of US Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe will go ahead at the end of this year.

Addressing the issue of Soviet attempts to use the West European anti-nuclear, peace movement to split the Atlantic alliance, French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson joined Supreme Allied Commander of Europe Bernard Rogers on June 7 to stress the need for the West to counter Moscow's "propaganda war."

Since the partnership between France and West Germany remains one of the pillars of West European security, the French Government has been particularly worried about the powerful pacifist movement in West Germany. French Prime Minister Mauroy, in his opening address to the NATO session, stated that although the peace movement should be respected, "our society is at peace precisely because our respective countries all maintain their own deterrent forces."

France's worry was manifested in Mitterrand's address at the West German Bundestag at the beginning of this year, which was seen as an expression of support to Chancellor Kohl who is adamant on the deployment of US missiles and in President Mitterrand ordering the expulsion of 47 Soviet officials on espionage charges in April, at about the same time as those in Britain, the Netherlands and Italy, as well as France's willingness to sign at the Williamsburg summit on May 29 a statement on nuclear disarmament that recognized security as being "global and indivisible."

All these are signs that France wants to reaffirm its role in Western defence and is accepting its full responsibilities within the Atlantic alliance in

face of the growing Soviet threat in Europe without returning to NATO's integrated military command.

— Duan Ping

## Nigeria

### Developing its national economy

SINCE independence in 1960, Nigeria has accomplished much in developing its national economy. The total value of its GNP in 1982 was about US \$44,500 million, making it one of the wealthiest countries in Black Africa. Nigeria's oil boom in the 1970s made its remarkable economic progress possible

**Largest Oil Producer in Africa.** Formerly dependent on its agricultural economy, Nigeria was famous for its traditional agricultural exports of cocoa, palm oil and peanuts. However, great changes have taken place in the economic structure since the 1970s. The petroleum industry has grown rapidly in the past decade, and oil has supplanted agricultural produce as the leading national export.

Nigeria's rich petroleum reserves are estimated at 2,700 million tons. Petroleum exploitation for export began in 1958, and its annual oil output reached 110 million tons in 1974. This began Nigeria's oil boom which today makes this country the largest oil producer in Africa. With changes in the demand for oil on the world markets, Nigeria's oil production has increased or decreased slightly but its annual oil output has remained

at about 100 million tons. The peak output was 114 million tons in 1979. Nigeria's annual oil revenues were about \$15,000 million. Today 70 per cent of government income or 90 per cent of its foreign exchange comes from its petroleum exports.

**The Fourth National Development Plan.** The Nigerian Government has worked out an economic development plan based on its large oil revenues. The total value of capital investment for the current five-year plan (1981-85) is \$122,500 million. Hundreds of large enterprises and engineering projects have been constructed in the past few years. In addition to its original light industry and processing industry, Nigeria has recently built iron and steel, oil refining, petrochemical, automobile assembly, house construction and electrical appliances industries. More than 2,000 manufacturing plants had been completed by the end of 1980. The equipment and technology of the oil refineries in Harcourt, Warri and Kaduna are up to advanced world levels. The country's annual refining capacity has reached 13 million tons.

The iron and steel industry is Nigeria's major investment project today. During the period of the current five-year plan, the government is investing \$4,500 million in the iron and steel industry which accounts for half of the total capital construction investment for industry. The steel rolling mill in Katsina and another iron and steel mill were put into production last year. The largest iron and steel plant in Ajaokuta and two other steel rolling mills are now under construction.

Nigeria's automobile assembly industry has also developed very rapidly. Seven automotive factories assembled 120,000 vehicles of various kinds in 1981

**Diversified Economy.** When Nigeria began emphasizing the development of the petroleum and other industries, agriculture was neglected for a time. The lopsided development of the economy led to a decline in agricultural production. The value of agricultural production as a percentage of GNP has decreased gradually and now accounts for only 22 per cent of Nigeria's GNP. Along with the decrease in commercial agricultural products, grain production has also suffered. The increase in grain production now lags far behind the rate of population increase. Basically self-sufficient in grain in the 1960s, Nigeria became one of the largest grain importers in Africa in 1980. More than \$2,220 million were paid for food imports that year.

After taking power in 1979, the government headed by President Alhaji Shehu Shagari

determined to reverse this adverse situation, and introduced a series of measures to diversify the economy. The government has called on the whole nation to implement the "green revolution" programme whose aim is to make the country self-sufficient in grain within five to seven years, and at the same time Nigeria will resume its export of traditional agricultural products.

In order to achieve this goal, the government has decided to allocate \$6,645 million for agricultural development in the current fourth five-year plan, doubling the agricultural investment fund of the third plan period.

The government has also raised the purchasing price of agricultural products and granted more loans for the peasants.

— Qian Yuqi

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## European Community Summit Meeting

**T**HE three-day summit of the 10-nation European Community (EC), the second this year, ended on June 19 in Stuttgart, West Germany, with a pledge to strengthen co-ordination and co-operation in the political, economic and diplomatic fields, but without substantial results on major issues.

Except for some decisions of a general nature, the reform of the EC's financial system, the amendment to the agricultural policy, the enlargement of the community and, most important, the financing of the community have not been settled. Specific problems have been left to the next summit scheduled for December at Athens.

At its very beginning, the summit ran into the dispute about Britain's demand for more than a billion ECUS (European currency units) rebate on its contribution to the EEC budget. It was only after long and hard bargaining that a provisional agreement was reached on returning 750 million ECUS to Britain instead of the 1.2 billion it had demanded.

Other EC leaders were angry that so much time of the three-day summit had been taken up with the "British rebate issue" instead of concentrating on more pressing problems. "I greatly regret that because of these long financial discussions little time is now left for debate on other burning subjects like unemployment," said Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

However, the meeting ended on a positive note of declared unity. The final "Solemn Declaration on European Union" expressed the determination of "creating a united Europe," which the EC leaders believe is more than ever necessary in order to meet the dangers of the world situation. Also, the EC leaders were unanimous in calling for the complete and prompt withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.

— Ren Yan



# For Establishing a New International Economic Order

— Excerpts of Vice-Premier Yao Yilin's Speech at  
Sixth UNCTAD Session

*Speaking at the Sixth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Belgrade on June 10, Vice-Premier Yao Yilin explained China's views on solving a series of major economic problems facing the world today and expressed firm support for the demand of the developing countries for a new international economic order. Following are excerpts of his speech. — Ed.*

SINCE the Fifth Session of UNCTAD, the world economic situation has been extremely grim. Both world production and trade have declined and international financial and monetary markets have been in disarray. Many developed countries have experienced the worst economic crisis since World War II. This has seriously affected international economic cooperation and development. The developed countries have intensified their efforts to gain more investment outlets and markets for their goods in ever fiercer trade and monetary wars. They have adopted trade protectionism, instituted high-interest rate policies and cut back official development assistance, all to the detriment of the developing countries.

In the "Economic Declaration" and "Ministerial Declaration" adopted respectively at the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit and the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 not long ago, a number of important proposals were put forward regarding the solution of the most urgent problems and the restructuring of the old international economic relations. The Chinese Government fully supports the correct views and reasonable demands raised by the Non-Aligned Summit and the Group of 77.

The basic objectives of this session should be to promote the sustained economic development of the developing countries and revitalize the world economy with a view to facilitating the process of establishing a new international economic order. To achieve these basic objectives, the following three relationships should be handled properly

1. The relationship between the solutions of immediate urgent problems and the long-term objectives for establishing a new international economic order.

Under the impact of the current economic crisis, the developing countries face a series of urgent problems that require immediate solutions. At present, these include their urgent need to redress their adverse international balance of payments, to readjust their foreign loans and reschedule the debt servicing of the least developed countries, to stabilize the prices of primary products and export earnings, to remove the obstacles to the access of commodities of the developing countries to the markets of the developed countries, to improve trade terms and to substantially increase the inflow of official development assistance.

The grave economic difficulties now facing the developing countries are caused mainly by the constraints imposed upon them by the old international economic order. Therefore, the solution to these urgent problems must be linked appropriately to the long-term objective of establishing a new international economic order. These solutions should gradually lead to the restructuring of the old international economic order and the establishment of a new international economic order.

GLOBAL negotiations are a good way to improve North-South economic relations and establish the new international economic order. We support the new proposal of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit on global negotiations and hope the major developed countries will respond favourably.

2. The relationship between the economic development of the developing countries and the revitalization of the world economy as a whole.

The prosperity of the developed countries was built on the basis of exchanges of unequal values with the underdeveloped countries

However, with the emergence of the third world today, the attempt of the developed nations to solve their economic problems at the expense of the economic interests of the developing countries is anachronistic. The developed countries should accept the trend of the times, adopt more sensible and far-sighted policies and respond positively to the reasonable demands of the developing countries and promote their development in all fields so as to contribute to the improvement of North-South relations and encourage world economic development.

### 3. The relationship between the North-South dialogue and South-South co-operation.

**I**T becomes all the more important to strengthen South-South co-operation in the context of the deteriorating world economy and the stalled North-South negotiations. South-South co-operation can increase the developing countries' economic strength and further encourage the North-South dialogue. All developed countries should give active support to and provide all necessary assistance for South-South co-operation.

The various specific world economic issues such as commodities, trade, money, finance and development are closely interrelated. Thus they should not be tackled separately or in isolation. They require a comprehensive and systematic settlement. The key to the solution of these issues lies in the acceleration of economic development of the developing countries. We support the proposal of the Group of 77 calling for the formulation and implementation of an integrated set of international policies in the interrelated areas of commodities, trade, money, finance and development, which contain immediate, interim and long-term programmes.

On the question of commodities, we hold that the current session should adopt effective measures to ensure a full implementation of an integrated programme for commodities; as regards international trade, we hold that the developed countries should gradually reduce and eliminate protectionist measures which will impede trade of the developing countries, and take effective measures to improve a general system of preferences for the developing countries; on financial and monetary issues, China supports the legitimate demands of developing countries that all the developed countries expand official development assistance and concessional loans through bilateral or multilateral channels, that international financial institutions increase substantially their funding sources and that

there be a real improvement in the terms and conditions for loans.

At present, the extremely grave debt servicing problems facing the developing countries demand proper solutions. The major developed countries concerned should implement fully the resolutions on debt problems adopted by UNCTAD and take positive measures to lessen the debt servicing burden of the developing countries.

We support the efforts to reform the existing international monetary and financial system and the establishment of a new system on a fair and equitable basis with a view to ensuring the full participation of the developing countries in the decision-making process on monetary and financial issues. We favour the creation of conditions for the convening of an international monetary and financial conference which would constitute a major step towards the realization of the general objective of establishing a new international economic order.

China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. The Chinese Government has unswervingly taken as the cornerstone of its foreign policy the strengthening of unity and co-operation with other third world countries. We are ready to further develop economic and technical co-operation with other developing countries on the basis of the principle of "equality and mutual benefit, stress on practical results, diversity in form and achievement of common progress."

**C**HINA'S policy of opening to the outside world is a long-term state policy. We are willing to expand economic and technological exchanges with all countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, develop foreign trade, make active and prudent use of foreign funds and import advanced technology and equipment suited to our national conditions, with a view to enhancing our capability of self-reliance and speeding up our socialist modernization. Together with other third world countries, we are ready to work with all those developed countries that are willing to improve North-South relations to bring into effect the declaration and programme of action on the establishment of a new international economic order, the charter of economic rights and duties of states and the third "International Development Strategy" adopted by the United Nations

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The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has done a great deal and played an active role in promoting world trade and development, in strengthening international co-operation, in stimulating international efforts to reform the existing unfair and inequitable international economic relations and in safeguarding the legitimate interests of all

countries, especially the just rights and interests of the third world countries and peoples.

We hope that the present session will contribute positively to breaking the stalemate in North-South negotiations, to the promotion of international economic co-operation and development, and to the establishment of a new international economic order. □

## What NPC Deputies Say

*Deputies to the First Session of the Sixth National People's Congress have held panel discussions since June 8 about Peng Zhen's opening speech and Zhao Ziyang's government work report and other reports, and have offered criticisms and opinions on major policies and principles as well as on the work in various fields. The following are excerpts from speeches by some deputies. — Ed.*

**Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme** (Vice-Chairman of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee): Tibet has achieved tremendous successes in the last few years. Despite an unprecedented drought last year, production proceeded normally and living standards continued to improve. This is a remarkable success.

The development of communication service and energy resources is the key to the development of Tibet. In my opinion, the most urgent task today is building Qinghai-Tibet Highway. I hope a railway to Tibet can be built as soon as possible.

Tibet has great advantages with regard to energy resources. Tibet leads the nation in geothermal resources. Its water power, wind power and solar energy resources all rank high in the country. There are broad prospects for the exploitation of these resources.

The development of Tibet's economy should not depend solely on agriculture and livestock breeding. Industries should be developed wherever the needed raw materials are available. A case in point is the tanning industry. Of course, the most important task is to quickly improve the processing technology and training skilled personnel. Therefore, at present support from the Han cadres, technical personnel in particular, is indispensable for Tibet.

**Ma Bi** (a former Standing Committee member of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee): In the past, I opposed the Communist Party. Now, I don't. I have learnt to view things dialectically, just as a man with eye trouble can see things clearly after he puts on a pair of glasses. Therefore, I support the Communist Party.

The current excellent situation of stability and unity in our country is the result of the highly developed democracy under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Political parties in capitalist countries represent only the interests of capitalists. But the Chinese Communist Party represents the interests of the workers and peasants as well as the interests of the whole nation. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our leaders reversed the course of events and led the country on to the orbit of healthy development. At that time, I was in Taiwan. When I heard this, I made up my mind to come



Deputies from Guangdong Province hold a group discussion.

back and I returned to the mainland in November 1981. I hope more people in Taiwan will clarify their understanding of the situation.

I think it is not fair to negate the merits and achievements of the Communist Party by just looking at the "anti-Rightist struggle" and the 10 years of the "cultural revolution." Chairman Mao led the Chinese people to overthrow the "three big mountains" (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism) and established a powerful New China. This is very great contribution. He made mistakes in his later years, but we should not deny his contributions and role just because of this. There is not a single man in the world who does not make any



Deputies from Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

mistakes, nor is there such a party. Therefore, we should view things with the method of "dividing one into two" and distinguishing right from wrong.

The government work in the last five years has been very successful. It will be even better in the future. As I am eager for better achievements, I would like to put forward two opinions: First, in building a modern and powerful socialist country, we should not just rely on a few leading cadres to do their best at their posts; we must make all the people do their best. Only in this way can labour efficiency be improved and construction be developed. Second, it is necessary to strengthen scientific management and improve the system of industrial and agricultural production and to unclog the commodity circulation channels with scientific managerial methods. I hate the cor-

ruptness of capitalism very much. But I think we can learn from their scientific managerial know-how.

**Xu Jiatun** (Director of the Xianggang Branch, Xinhua News Agency): Premier Zhao Ziyang declared in his report that "we shall, at an opportune moment, recover Chinese sovereignty over Xianggang (Hongkong) and take appropriate measures to maintain its prosperity." This expresses the common desire and determination of all Chinese, including our compatriots in Xianggang, to accomplish the sacred cause of reunifying the motherland; it also expresses the spirit of seeking a realistic and rational solution to the problem of Xianggang's future on the premise of reunification. The recovery of sovereignty over Xianggang and maintaining its prosperity are an integral goal. I am optimistic that the problem of Xianggang's future can be solved by following this goal. Sovereignty over Xianggang is not negotiable, but full consideration will be given to the interests of our Xianggang compatriots, including those of personages in various fields. There should be no doubt about this. In the light of the concrete conditions in Xianggang, we must properly implement the principles and policies of the Party Central Committee and the State Council with regard to solving the issue of Xianggang. This con-

forms to the interests of the compatriots and personages in all fields in Xianggang as well as to the fundamental interests of the Chinese people nationwide. This is by no means a temporary expedient but a long-term principle. Everyone may rest assured that the Party Central Committee and the State Council have fully considered the opinions of compatriots and personages in all fields in Xianggang while adopting flexible, realistic specific policies towards Xianggang that respect its historical background and present state.

**Song Shaowen** (Adviser to the State Planning Commission): 1982 witnessed the largest investment in history in capital construction, which exceeded China's present financial capacity. Moreover, the scale of investment was still expanding in the first few months of this year. We should pay serious attention to this trend.

It is necessary to institute a highly centralized and unified system for capital construction management and concentrate the power on the central and provincial authorities, making each responsible for the control of investment in all capital construction at their respective lower levels.

**Wang Zhihua** (an agronomist and Head of the Institute for Popularization of Agricultural Techniques in Luquan County, Yunnan Province). In streamlining government institutions, two issues merit attention: First, we must proceed from reality when we place scientific and technological research personnel in the leading bodies and pay attention to developing their strengths. Some people are very productive in scientific and technological work but are not able leaders because they lack organizational and leadership skills. Selecting them for leading positions not only makes it impossible for them to properly perform their functions, but also increases their burden. This will not achieve any satisfactory results. Second, it would be best to choose leading cadres at the grass-roots units through democratic elections. At present, they are appointed by higher authorities. Some of them are liked by the leaders but not welcomed by the masses. In these cases, it is very hard for them to work effectively.

**Bei Hanting** (Captain of Xiongyuecheng Ocean Freighter of the Shanghai Ocean Shipping Company): We must carefully consider what to import. In the recent past, large quantities of TV sets, wrist watches and artificial fabrics were imported, adversely affecting the home market and the development of national industry. We should rely on our own resources and develop a spirit of patriotism.

**Wang Jinda** (a Shanghai test pilot): It is necessary to overcome the tendency of the blind or haphazard importing of goods and technology. We should not regard everything foreign as good. We should consider China's actual conditions and be more careful when introducing foreign technology. Otherwise, it will be impossible for us to "digest" what is imported. Moreover, we should not import everything. We cannot buy "modernization," we must build it ourselves.

**Gu Gongxu** (Director of Geophysics, the State Seismological Bureau): In scientific research, the following problems must be solved: First, we must be clear about the characteristics of scientific research. Scientific research must

lead the production. It must be able to open up new fields and explore new things. We should not always copy foreign things. Second, the practice of using enterprise and administrative management to replace scientific management has not been changed fundamentally. Third, there is the lack of trained people to lead scientific research projects. Without the leadership of people with real knowledge, scientific research projects cannot succeed. Fourth, scientific and technological personnel are not properly placed and used and there is a serious problem of people being assigned jobs for which they are not trained. More often than not, university graduates are assigned jobs only according to their personal files. Once they are given jobs, they cannot be transferred to other posts. This constitutes a great waste of trained people. Fifth, the scientific research institutions should be streamlined. Now, they are overstaffed and difficult to manage. If these problems are not solved soon, they will adversely affect the country's modernization drive.

**Yang Dezhi** (Chief of General Staff of the People's Liberation Army): National defence must be developed in step with the economic construction of the state. As our country's material base is comparatively weak, the modernization and regularization of the army can only be undertaken gradually by stages. Compared with the developed countries, the weapons and equipment of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are fairly backward. We will rely mainly on ourselves to improve the weapons and equipment. And at the same time, we will actively import advanced technology from foreign countries.

In the future, the army will carry out strenuous reforms in the organizational system, the command system, the composition of cadres and logistics, as well as the style of leadership and methods of work. It will work towards creating combined army units so as to become capable of coping with modern warfare and increase the army's capability for combined operations and for rapid responses under conditions of modern war.

**Cao Yu** (President of the Beijing People's Art Theatre):

Recently, some unhealthy tendencies have appeared in the literary and art circles. Some people are only concerned with increasing their incomes and show no regard for social consequences. This requires our attention. Our



Deputies of Taiwan Province.

works should provide the people with aesthetic enjoyment and help to broaden their realm of thought and improve their morality. The 10-year "cultural revolution" polluted the spirit of the people. At that time, ignorance was regarded as an honour. Today, there is a "study fever" throughout the country and the people's level of appreciation and aesthetic judgment are rising. This calls for not only more quantity but also better quality of literary works.

**Su Buqing** (Honorary President of Fudan University): In his report, Premier Zhao said that China plans to increase the enrolment of regular institutions of higher learning by 75 per cent in the next five years. I fully agree with this plan of development. In order to make education better serve the modernization drive, I think attention should be paid to the following questions: First, when we draw up enrolment plans we must take into consideration the problem of job assignments for graduates so as to avoid the phenomenon that some graduates cannot apply what they have learnt and what they do is not related to what they have studied. Second, we must stress raising the quality of teaching and strengthening the building of spiritual civilization so as to train people who can serve the country's modernization drive wholeheartedly. Third, it is necessary to improve the education of middle and primary school teachers.

**Zhaxi Wangqun** (Vice-Chairman of the Qinghai Provincial Party Advisory Commission): Although nationalities' education in Qinghai Province has developed fairly rapidly in the last 30-odd years since the founding of New China, many problems exist. It has fallen far

short of the needs of economic development and the contradiction is very acute. The main problems are: Primary school education is not yet universal, the nationalities' education as a whole has not become a complete system. There is shortage of funds and teaching aids, and other conditions have remained poor, and we have had too few teachers and besides they are poorly trained. Therefore, special policies must be adopted to actively develop nationalities' education so as to stimulate economic development in minority nationality areas.

**Yu Wenqing** (Vice-Chairman of the Liaoning Provincial Women's Federation): Protecting the legitimate rights of infant girls and women who give birth to girl babies has become a problem of common concern. I suggest that the state enact as quickly as possible a "law protecting women and children" or a "law of women's rights" so as to ensure the legitimate rights of women and children.

**Liu Shuhe** (professor in the Hubei College of Finance and Economics): My constituency has asked me to present the opinion that prices must be maintained basically stable. Ours is mainly a planned economy supplemented by market regulation. However, state-run vegetable markets in Wuhan have not been strong enough to lead and control the fair trade. As a result, each household must spend two yuan on vegetables a day. I recently made a tour of Shanghai and Nanjing where people also demand a strict control over prices and a ban on price hikes under disguised forms.

**Wei Junhong** (a self-employed-worker in Qingshan District of Wuhan): Thanks to the correct policies of the Party, the number of self-employed families has increased from 242 in 1979 to 20,000. They constitute a significant supplement to the national and collective economies. At present, however, quite a few self-employed labourers practise tax evasion, which causes the reduction of state revenue. Industrial and commercial administrative departments alone cannot bring them under control and the association of self-employed labourers can only carry out education in professional ethics. I suggest that the government further tighten control and really bring them into the socialist orbit. □



# CPPCC Members' Discussion

*Members of the current CPPCC who also attended the First Session of the 6th NPC as observers held panel meetings to discuss Deng Yingchao's address to the opening ceremony of the First Session of the 6th CPPCC National Committee and the work of the CPPCC, as well as Premier Zhao Ziyang's report to the 6th NPC on the government's work. The following are excerpts from some CPPCC members' speeches*

— Ed

**K.C. Wong** (Chairman of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce of Xianggang (Hongkong)) and **Xu Si-min** (Chairman of the Xianggang Mirror Publishing Co.): The past experiences and lessons of the CPPCC have shown that whenever the Communist Party of China persisted in the practice of conducting democratic consultations with the various democratic parties, our country's socialist undertakings grew and flourished. The last several decades prove that it is of great significance for people from all walks of life to gather together to discuss state affairs. The existence of the CPPCC is a distinguishing feature of China. We hope the role of the CPPCC will be further expanded in the future.

**Shen Zui** (member of the Research Society of Cultural and Historical Data of the CPPCC): The 6th CPPCC fully embodies the spirit of "uniting with all the forces that can be united." In my group more than one-third of the members were former Kuomintang (KMT) special agents or war criminals released under a special amnesty and three of them were agents for the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the KMT Military Council. This is a good example of the Communist Party's policy that all patriots belong to one big family whether they rally to the common cause early or late.

**An Shiwei** (Vice-President of the Islamic Association of China): The composition of the current CPPCC is highly

representative. Compared with the last CPPCC, nearly three times as many members of it are from religious circles. There are 45 religious representatives compared with 18 in the last CPPCC. This shows that the Communist Party's united front is not empty talk but has substantial content, and that the Communist Party does attach importance to religious circles.

**Zheng Jian** (President and concurrently Secretary-General of the All-China Federation of Taiwan): Achieving the peaceful reunification of the motherland conforms entirely to the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in Taiwan. It also will be advantageous to maintaining the stability of the Taiwan region and avoiding the social turmoil that would result from war. With the powerful, independent motherland with a population of 1,000 million as its strong backing and a vast domestic market and rich natural and energy resources, peaceful reunification will greatly benefit Taiwan, for it will help the region shake off the difficulties caused by Western economic crises and ensure the province continued economic prosperity and development. Furthermore, the vast territory of the motherland has ample scope for talented persons in Taiwan to display their abilities.

**Xu Junhu** (Vice-Chairman of the Hunan provincial committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference): In her opening ad-

CPPCC members from Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) at a group meeting.



dress to the First Session of the current CPPCC. Deng Yingchao said that peaceful reunification of the motherland is a common desire of the people of all nationalities in China and a glorious historical task of our generation. This touched off my thoughts and feelings. Chiang Ching-kuo and I were schoolmates and once worked together in southern Jiangxi Province. Recently I revisited the province and also toured Chiang's home village, Xikou in Fenghua, Zhejiang Province, where I witnessed the development of the motherland's construction; a comparison between past and present shows that these places have taken on a completely new look. Now, I'd like to take this opportunity to say a few words to Chiang Ching-kuo: The remaining disunity of the country and the division of the nation is a deep disgrace to all Chinese. Deng Yingchao stated in her opening speech: "After the reunification of the motherland, the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang will co-operate and coexist with and supervise each other for a long time to come." This, I think, will resound throughout Taiwan. In my capacity as Mr. Chiang's schoolmate and colleague, I am highly honoured politically today. Doesn't this mean something to Mr Chiang?

**Li Yikuang** (Member of the Research Society of Cultural and Historical Data of the CPPCC): Some people abroad have commented that the Communist Party has got hold of the three most precious things in the world: scientists' brains, labourers' strength and youth. Implementation of the Party's policy on intellectuals has been an inspiration to intellectuals. The adoption of different forms of the responsibility system in production has mobilized the initiative of the workers and peasants. The succession of leadership in the leading bodies of the Party and government departments at all levels has enabled young people to develop their talents and strength. With these, our country will grow increasingly prosperous.

**Qian Jiaju** (Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League): In 1981 and 1982, Premier Zhao Ziyang twice proposed improving economic results. He also suggested a series of concrete measures. Two years have elapsed since he first raised this issue. Although we have achieved marked results in many other fields, we have



Wang Guangmei (front row, right), He Zehui (front row middle), a high-energy physicist, and others at a CPPCC group meeting.

seen little progress in this respect and in some places we even have found fewer economic results.

I think this could be attributed to the following factors:

First, the influence of the "Left" thinking has not been eliminated. The problem of one-sided pursuance of output value, output and high speed still exists. We always make output value, output and speed the main measures by which to evaluate our economic development, while we neglect economic results and labour productivity. If this tendency is not checked, it will lead to a new dislocation of the economy.

Second is the problem of the pricing system. Our present prices are not very rational, as the prices of commodities do not match their value and the law of value does not function as it should. For instance, the price of coal is too low and cannot even cover the cost of production. Many producers of famous-brand traditional small commodities have had to suspend production because, although the prices of raw materials and labour have gone up, the prices for their own goods remained unchanged, which caused such enterprises significant losses.

Third is the problem of the labour system. Our labour system is irrational. Our labour force is assigned in a centralized way by the labour departments which also decide the standards for the total wages. The enterprises, on the other hand, have no right to hire workers.

**Kong Xiangzhen** (Standing Committee Member of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee): Whether a country influences the world depends, to a great extent, on the country's economic strength and how advanced its

economy and science are. Many CPPCC members are economists or scientists who can make more contributions. Of course we can invite experts we really need from abroad, but we should mainly rely on our own experts. The CPPCC should make a list of these experts and organize them to discuss economic problems and let them make greater contributions to the modernization drive.

**Rong Renben** (technical adviser to the Shanghai Optical Instruments Company and senior engineer): During our current process of conferring titles on scientific and technical personnel, the theory that the record of formal schooling alone should decide the title is gaining ground. It is said that only those who graduated from university before 1966 can receive the title of engineer. Using this criterion, people who are incompetent but have diplomas will be promoted. We must admit that schooling is important, but achievements in practical work are equally important. Some people argue that achievements in practical work do not represent academic acquirements. I'm afraid this won't do any good in encouraging the initiative of scientific and technical personnel.

**Chang Shuhong** (former adviser to the State Cultural Relics Bureau): China has a 5,000-year-old civilization. It has numerous valuable historic relics, but many have been lost or damaged. During pre-liberation days many of our relics were stolen or vandalized by the imperialists and today many are still scattered

abroad. The "cultural revolution" was another catastrophe to our cultural relics. The existing relics are our treasures. If we do not take good care of them, how can we face our descendants?

**Chen Yongling** (chief engineer at the State Bureau of Surveying and Cartography). Waste remains a chronic problem because first, we have not adopted any concrete measures to stop it; second, some people's idea about the legal system is faint; and third, laws are not strictly enforced. Currently, people cannot be held legally responsible for incurring thousands or even tens of thousands of yuan in losses or waste because we have no law with which to punish them. I hope the state will enact laws against waste and enforce them strictly. Otherwise we can't effectively stop waste.

**Li Zemin** (Party Secretary and President of the Hebei Teachers University): Today, our colleges are like government offices. They have all the agencies the government offices have. A college president has to take care of everything, just like a manager of a sundry goods shop. This does not suit the task of teaching or scientific research. Our Hebei Teachers University has a faculty of more than 2,800 with a total enrolment of 3,500 students. Much of the teaching staff is actually idle. Colleges like ours may run branch schools or special, correspondence and night schools as well as special training courses. □

## Tibet: History and Anecdotes (II)

by Lobsang and Jin Yun

*The first half of this article which appeared in our issue No. 24 gave a brief account of the major historical events in Tibet between the 6th and the 18th centuries. The second half presents some of the important highlights of Tibetan history since the 19th century. — Ed.*

**A**FTER the mid-19th century, China was repeatedly invaded by imperialists. Tibet, China's southwest gate, was not spared. Britain twice launched armed invasions against Tibet and successively used the rationale of "China being a suzerain state of Tibet" and aiding

"Tibet's independence" in attempts to detach Tibet from China and degrade it into a British colony. These ambitions were opposed by all the nationalities of China and were not realized.

After World War II, the US imperialists joined the British imperialists in a conspiracy for so-called "Tibet's independence," attempting to impede the peaceful liberation of Tibet. This also was thwarted. Today the people of Tibet have embarked on the socialist road of national equality, unity, mutual assistance and common prosperity with all the other nationalities in China.

## British Imperialist Invasion

After the Sino-British Opium War in 1840, the imperialist countries launched full-scale military, political, economic and cultural aggression against China and gradually reduced China to a semi-colony.

The British imperialists, who controlled India at the time, carried out their colonialist policy and frequently tried to force their way into the neighbouring Tibet, in order to plunder Tibet's natural resources, dump their own commodities and seize China's markets. In the mid-19th century, the British imperialists entered Tibet disguised as "missionaries" and "explorers" to gather information about Tibet's material resources as well as its military and political situation—a preparatory move towards an armed invasion of Tibet.

In 1885, Britain sent Colman Macaulay, a secretary of the Government of Bengal (India) to lead a "commercial mission" to southern Tibet's Gamba County from the Indian border on the pretext of investigating Tibet's mineral resources. The group's advance was prevented by the local Tibetans led by the county head. Macaulay threatened that if the Tibetans did not let them go forward, he would lead an army to suppress them. But the Gamba people stood their ground and turned back the invaders.

**Two Armed Invasions.** In March 1888, the British army attacked Tibet's Longtu fort. The Tibetan army and people fought back, but the corrupt Qing government, panicked by the imperialists, refused to dispatch reinforcements and, instead, ordered its high commissioners in Tibet to obstruct the Tibetan army's resistance. This, added to the poor equipment of the Ti-

betan army and the disparity of strength of forces, led to a defeat of the Chinese side.

After the war, the Qing government signed the Treaty of 1890 with Britain. Later, under pressure from Britain, the Qing court signed another treaty concerning Tibet in 1893. These two unequal treaties enabled Britain to occupy some border areas in southern Tibet, to open a trade mart in Yadong and to establish a permanent commercial mission in Tibet.

Britain launched its second armed invasion against Tibet in March 1904. The Tibetan army and people as well as many Buddhist monks fought back. In a fierce battle to defend Gyangze, the Tibetans inflicted heavy losses upon the British. But later, the local Tibetan government issued an order to stop the resistance because the Qing government refused to support the Tibetans. The humiliating foreign policy of the Qing court added to capitulationist forces of the local Tibetan government and the military superiority of the enemy forces led to another defeat.

On August 3, the British invading troops entered Lhasa, capital of Tibet, and forced the local government officials and the representatives of the three key monasteries to sign the so-called Lhasa Convention which gave Britain many additional privileges in Tibet.

**"Suzerain State" Fallacy.** At the end of 1904 China and Britain entered into negotiations in India. To deny China's sovereignty over Tibet, the British representative put forward the fallacy that China only had "suzerainty" over Tibet, a position which was strongly opposed by the Chinese representative who described China's sovereignty over Tibet as inviolable. The negotiation thus came to a deadlock.

In 1906, Sino-British negotiations began anew in Beijing concluding with the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1906. Article two of the new treaty stated that Britain would not undertake to annex Tibet or interfere with Tibet's political affairs, while China would not permit any other foreign country to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet. Thus the British government finally recognized, de facto, China's sovereignty over Tibet.

In fact, no treaty concerning Tibet after the two wars had

The Zongshan Hill in Gyangze where the Tibetan people resisted the British imperialist armed invasion in March 1904



gone into effect without negotiations with the central government of China. This was sufficient to prove that China had total sovereignty over Tibet. The fallacy that China only had "suzerainty" over Tibet was nothing but a fabrication of the imperialists.

**Origin of "Tibet's Independence."** As Tibet has been China's territory throughout most of recorded history, how did the question of "Tibet's independence" arise in this century?

Britain gained many advantages in Tibet after its two armed invasions. But the Tibetan people's hostility towards its aggression and slaughter and the opposition of the Chinese people as a whole foiled its attempt to control Tibet. As a result, the imperialists resorted to another trick — fostering pro-British forces among Tibet's local ruling clique and instigating their divisive activities in the name of opposing the national oppression of the Qing government. They wanted to set Tibet against the motherland and redirect the Tibetan people's spearhead of struggle.

A handful of pro-British elements emerged within Tibet's ruling clique in the early years of this century. Backed by the British imperialists, they carried out numerous traitorous and divisive activities.

In 1911, after the bourgeois democratic revolution overthrew the decadent feudal Qing Dynasty, the pro-British forces in Tibet took advantage of the central government's inability to deal with its affairs from afar and initiated rebellious activities. They expelled the high commissioners in Tibet, slaughtered many noted Tibetan personages who adhered to the unification of the motherland, and forced the patriotic Ninth Bainqen to flee Tibet.

Later, Britain hatched up the "Sino-British-Tibetan tripartite conference" (also known as the Simla Conference) which was held from October 1913 to July 1914.

Immediately after the conference began, representatives of Tibet's pro-British forces submitted a request for "independence of Tibet" following a secret agreement with Britain. This was aimed at forcing a concession from the representative of the Chinese central government.

They also collaborated with the British representative Arthur H. McMahon in drawing the so-called "McMahon Line" without consulting the representative of the Chinese central government through a secret exchange of letters. This line incorporated 90,000 square kilo-

metres of long-standing Chinese territory into then British India.

The newly founded government of the Republic of China which reluctantly attended the conference in exchange for recognition of the republic by the British government immediately cabled its minister in Britain and instructed him to make a statement to the British Foreign Office that the Chinese government could not cede any part of the Chinese territory and therefore it would not sign the "Simla treaty." It also instructed its representative to the conference not to sign the formal treaty under any circumstances. Simultaneously it instructed its representative to the conference and its minister in Britain to make an official statement that China would not recognize any treaty or similar documents signed by Britain and Tibet without the sanction of the Chinese government.

As a result, the "Simla treaty" without the signature of the Chinese government had no binding effect, and "Tibet's independence," a British plot supported by a handful of pro-British elements in Tibet, also came to naught.

None of the later Chinese governments recognized the so-called "McMahon Line." Instead, they lodged repeated protests and made statements with the British and Indian governments.

The so-called "Tibet's independence" scheme of the imperialists had never been recognized by any country. In the following years, local Tibetan authorities gradually detected from their own experience the British imperialists' aggressive ambition of using "independence" as a bait to annex Tibet, and hence changed their attitude towards the motherland.

In 1920, when the central government's representative arrived in Tibet, the 13th Dalai Lama said, "Being intimate with Britain was not of my own accord," "I pledge to devote myself for the happiness of the people of all nationalities."

Soon afterwards, the local government of Tibet expelled the British spy Charles Bell from Tibet. The relationship between Tibet and the motherland thenceforth improved.

Instigated by the British imperialists in the 1920s, the pro-British elements in Tibet launched several rebellions to subvert the local government headed by the 13th Dalai Lama. But the rebellions were all crushed by the patriotic forces, and the British imperialists failed to draw Tibet away from China.



Chairman Mao Zedong gave a banquet for the local government delegation of Tibet headed by Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme in April 1951

In 1929, the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs of the Kuomintang government dispatched a representative to Tibet. Dalai Lama told the representative: "What I expect most of China is real unity and peace." "The British, indeed, have a mind to draw me to their side. Nevertheless, I know the importance of guarding national sovereignty." In 1930 the Tibetan local government established a representative office in Nanjing, capital of the Kuomintang government. Four years later the Kuomintang government also established a representative office in Lhasa. In 1939, the Kuomintang government sent another representative to Lhasa to officiate at the inauguration ceremony of the 14th Dalai Lama on February 22, 1940.

By that time, the abnormal status of Tibet created by the British imperialists took a turn for the better and the relationship between Tibet and the motherland had been restored and strengthened.

### Peaceful Liberation

As early as the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), the US imperialists initiated conspiratorial activities against Tibet. After the war, the United States and Britain worked together to plot the "Tibet's independence."

In October 1947, at the bidding of the US and British imperialists, Tibet's separatists rigged up a "commercial mission" which went to the United States and Britain to receive the two governments' instructions for carrying out the

splitlist scheme in the name of investigating the commercial affairs in the two countries.

On the eve of nationwide liberation in 1949, an "expelling Han incident" occurred in Lhasa. This was a plot by the US and British imperialists in collaboration with the separatists among Tibet's ruling clique. On the pretext of "preventing the Communists from entering Tibet," they demanded that the Kuomintang government withdraw all members of its representative office from Tibet for they believed that by evicting all the Kuomintang government officials from Tibet, the region could announce its "independence."

Soon after this incident, Lowell Thomas, a US special agent, visited Lhasa. After his return to the United States in October 1949, US press called for US government support for Tibet's appeal to join the United Nations. Thomas himself said that he had told the officials of the Tibet local government to resolutely oppose the People's Liberation Army's entrance into Tibet. He said that they could stop the PLA by organizing a trained guerrilla force.

On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded in Beijing. In order to completely liberate all of China's mainland, the Central People's Government decided to send troops to Tibet. Proceeding from the aspiration of safeguarding the unification of the motherland and national unity, the Party Central Committee set the principle of striving for a peaceful liberation of Tibet. The government then told the Tibetan local government to dispatch a



delegation to Beijing for negotiations. However, the reactionary elements of Tibet's upper strata rejected this proposal.

It was only after the People's Liberation Army defeated the major force of Tibet, that tried to block PLA's advance, in the battle of Chamdo in October 1950 that the Tibetan local government agreed to send a delegation to Beijing for negotiations. In April 1951, the Tibet local government's delegation headed by Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme arrived in Beijing and entered into negotiations with the central government. On May 23, the Central People's Government and the Tibet local government signed an agreement for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, which smashed the long-standing scheme for "Tibet's independence" by the British and US imperialists.

### World Recognition

The imperialists and a small number of reactionary elements in Tibet's upper ruling clique could not reconcile themselves to the peaceful liberation of Tibet and its return to the embrace of the motherland. The reactionary elements were intent upon launching an armed rebellion, negating the agreement and detaching Tibet from China. Abetted by the imperialists, they continued to carry out sabotage and create disturbances. Despite the central government's consistent persuasion and education, they finally launched an armed rebellion in March 1959.

But, contrary to their desires, this rebellion accelerated the destruction of the Tibet's reactionary forces and brought Tibet on to the bright democratic, socialist road sooner than expected.



Documents on the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

"Tibet's independence" advocated by a handful of Tibet's and foreign reactionaries both in the past and at present has always been a dirty trick of imperialist aggression against China, including Tibet.

Today, a number of people with ulterior motives spread the nonsense that "Tibet is an independent state." Their aim is to draw Tibet away from the motherland, which will never be allowed by any of the Chinese people, including the people of Tibet.

The indisputable fact that Tibet is an inalienable part of China is universally recognized throughout the world. Even the officials of the British and US governments do not deny it.

In 1903, George Hamilton, the British Secretary of State for India, said: "(Tibet) must still be regarded as a province of China." On June 14, 1904, in his instruction to the British plenipotentiary to Russia, the British Foreign Secretary also admitted that Tibet was a province of the Chinese Empire.

After the 1959 rebellion, a spokesman for the US State Department stated on March 24, "The United States never regarded Tibet as an independent state." A spokesman for the British Foreign Office also reiterated on March 31 that Britain recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet.

After its independence, India repeatedly expressed that it respected China's sovereignty over Tibet. On the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, the two governments signed an agreement to establish trade relations and open transport and communication services between China's Tibet and India on April 29, 1954.

The two governments also reached agreement on the noted Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On May 15, 1954, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru denounced remarks that attempted to negate China's sovereignty over Tibet while addressing the House of the People. He said, "Over the past hundreds of years, as far as I know, at no time has any foreign country denied China's sovereignty over Tibet."

China's sovereignty over Tibet is indisputable. This is the conclusion history demands. □

## OPINION

### *Lu Dingyi's self-criticism concerning intellectuals*

**I**N a letter written this spring to Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee, Lu Dingyi, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and former head of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, made a self-criticism on the question of knowledge and intellectuals. The letter says:

In the early days after liberation we should have sent a number of Party members (peasant cadres) to school until they finished higher education. If we had done this for 10 or 20 years, our present construction would have been much easier. I myself must bear major responsibility for failing to make this suggestion. This was a significant error

I am a graduate of the Shanghai Jiao Tong University and have long been engaged in publicity, cultural and educational work. But I failed to take note of the particular importance of knowledge and intellectuals during the period of socialist construction

An army without culture is a dull-witted army. Without culture, people can hardly understand the meaning of democracy and law and are prone to feudal practices.

The iron- and steel-making campaign in 1958 led to the arbitrary felling of trees and the later practice of "taking grain as the key link" resulted

in the slashing of sideline occupations. That was because the leadership issued confused orders and the lower agencies followed blindly. But the two shared one weakness: ignorance. In the past, those without knowledge looked down upon those with knowledge. The

result was that intellectuals were subjected to prolonged oppression and were even listed as the "target of dictatorship" during the "cultural revolution."

Today, we stress the importance of knowledge and intellectuals in a continuing effort to correct past errors. We must firmly carry this out as a state policy. In doing so, we are absolutely not prompted by a sudden surge of passion.

— "Minzhu Yu Fazhi" (*Democracy and Legal System*), No. 4, 1983

### *Stalin's definition of relations of production is regressive*

**E**CONOMIST Sun Yefang wrote in the introduction to *Socialist Economic Theory*, that Engels' definition of relations of production included production, exchange and distribution, yet Stalin's definition negated exchange (i.e., circulation in a broad sense). This is not progress, he said in the book written just before his death, but two steps back from socialism and represents the theory of the feudal self-sufficient natural economy.

Stalin based his erroneous viewpoint on two facts: first, prior to the October Revolution the capitalist commodity economy was underdeveloped in Russia and the small peasant patriarchal economy was dominant; and second, the post-revolution war-time communist economic policies practised in the Soviet Union produced the illusion that socialism could be realized through dividing social wealth equally and banning exchange

Stalin's view has all but dominated the field of economics in China and exerted adverse effects on our socialist economic construction in the past 30 years. Under the impact of the non-circulation theory, circulation was replaced by state allocation and rations which caused dislocation between production and sales and also hindered the smooth progress of social reproduction

— "Zhongguo Shehui Kexue" (*China's Social Sciences*)

## LIFE

### *Film celebrates a girl's birth*

**A** FILM was shown on a rural school sports ground on February 10 this year in Hubei Province's Mianyang County. It drew a large audience, including

many people who never cared for movies

It was a treat offered by a young peasant named Zhang Guangzhao to his fellow villagers to celebrate the birth of his daughter

Zhang is a Communist Youth Leaguer. Determined to do away with the traditional concept of regarding men as superior to women, during his

wife's pregnancy, he frequently said that if she gave birth to a girl he would treat his fellow villagers to a film. Nobody really believed him.

However, he kept his promise. Many young mothers of girls were very touched and wanted to contribute to the cost of the film but Zhang declined their offers.

—“Hubei Ribao” (Hubei Daily)

raised by the capital's citizens tops one million, and the numbers of jasmine and *Aglia odorata* are even greater

Beijing citizens' favourite plants also include cactus, camellia, gardenia and asparagus fern

Beijing now has 30 flower shops, compared with four in 1979. In addition to the Chinese Rose Association, the city has also founded chrysanthemum and miniature plants associations whose membership includes horticulturists, workers, peasants, government cadres and teachers. These associations sponsor annual flower fairs, lectures and other activities

—“China Daily”

## Beijing citizens grow flowers

THREE parks in the capital simultaneously held rose fairs in May, each attracting thousands of visitors daily

The rose fair in downtown Beihai Park was sponsored by the Beijing Chinese Rose Association. More than 200 varieties were displayed in 4,000 flower pots. The Temple of Heaven in the southern part of the city is noted for its roses. The show there displayed more than 400 varieties in 3,000 flower pots, including some from Shanghai, Tianjin, Jiangxi and other places. In addition to roses, Taoranting Park at the southwest corner of the city proper also displayed various species of cactus

Liu Qing, a 67-year-old retired worker, bought two pots of roses at the Beihai Park fair. He said that he already had 110 pots and wished to add some new varieties. “Flower growing has now become the most popular hobby of Beijing citizens. In the residential quarters you can see flowers on almost every balcony and windowsill,” he said

Liu Haoqin, a rose specialist at the Temple of Heaven, estimated that the number of roses

## Electricity to 500 million peasants

STATISTICS released by the Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power show that the electric power industry has developed rapidly in China's rural areas in the last decade. In 1982, the rural areas used 45,000 million kwh of electricity, nearly three times the 1973 figure of 15,800 million kwh, and rural use accounted for 16.5 per cent of the country's total, an increase of nearly 5 per cent over 1973.

Today, 500 million peasants have access to electricity which reaches 90 per cent of the rural people's communes, 70 per cent of the production brigades, and 60 per cent of the production teams

—“Zhongguo Nongmin Bao”  
(The Chinese Peasants Paper)



Many peasant families in Penghu, Fujian Province, now use electric cookers.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

### *Remains of 4,000-year-old city*

Chinese archaeologists have excavated two ancient cities in Dengfeng County, Henan Province, the *Wenwu* (Cultural Relics) monthly magazine reported in its issue No. 3 this year.

An Jinhua, director of the Henan Archaeology Institute and leader of the excavation, said that in all probability the remains will turn out to be the capital city of Yangcheng of China's first dynasty, the Xia.

According to legend, the Xia Dynasty was founded by Qi, son of the great river-tamer Yu. Contemporary historians estimate that the dynasty began in about the 22nd or 21st century and ended in the 17th century B.C. But before the Dengfeng excavation no substantial material evidence had been found to verify the existence of the dynasty.

The two unearthed cities are next to each other on the northern bank of the Yinghe River, on a terrace known to the local people as Wangchenggang. Over the centuries, the river has washed away the east part of the east city, so another city was built by the west of the washaway city, known as the west city. And the west wall of the east city served simultaneously as the east wall of the west city.

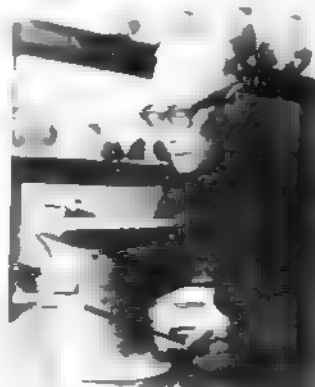
Fortunately, the west city escaped washout and its walls and inner structures have remained intact underground. Its shape is roughly square and it covers an area of 10,000 square metres. Its walls were made of layers of pounded earth and sand.

Archaeologists have uncovered skeletons of males and females of all ages under the walls in the central and western parts of the city. The fewest found in one location was two skeletons and the largest group was seven. All the skeletons were in good condition and yet in unnatural postures. Therefore,

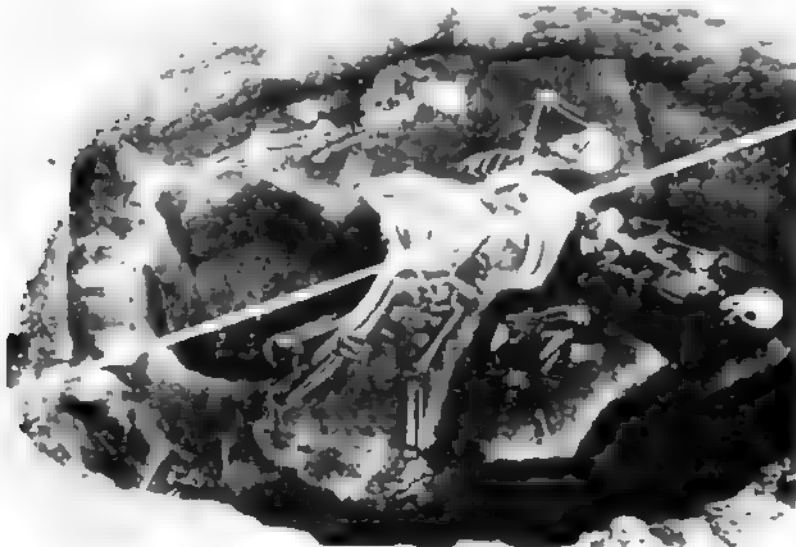
specialists believe that they might have been slaves who were used as sacrifices in a foundation ceremony.

In addition, thousands of pieces of pottery, stoneware, boneware and cowries are found, ranging from pottery tripods, pottery jars, stone axes, stone shovels, bone arrow points and assorted ornaments to fragments of a bronze container.

The Wangchenggang remains have been verified as belonging



An Jinhua, studying the unearthed cultural relics.



Skeletons found under a section of the walls.

to the middle and late periods of the neolithic Longshan Culture in western Henan, which is divided into five periods. Carbon 14 tests indicate that the cities were built some 4,000 years ago.

The twin cities are among the oldest city ruins so far found in China. Their walls indicate the development of pounding skills in ancient China, and are rare proof of the beginnings of the Chinese tradition of city walls.

An Jinhua said that the walls were probably built to protect the dynasty against slave rebellions. The skeletons suggest that it was a slave society and shed light on the oppressive class relations.

The Henan Archaeology Institute and the Museum of Chinese History began the excavation in 1975, following extensive historical and field research.

Historical records had indicated that most of today's Henan Province was not only the habitat of the legendary primitive Xia and Shang clans, but also the dominions of the earliest slave dynasties of the Xia and Shang. Specialists were of the opinion that Yangcheng, the capital of the Xia Dynasty, lay near the present-day Gaocheng. Archaeologists followed up conclusions with exploratory field studies that uncovered the ruins.

According to An Jinhui, details of the Wangchenggang remains bear close resemblance to those recorded for Yangcheng and they can be dated to within the conjectured period of the Xia Dynasty.

Thus, it is highly possible that the two unearthed cities are the remains of the capital city of the early Xia Dynasty.

He also said that the fragments of the bronze container are the earliest bronzeware to be found in central China. This suggests a considerable development of the dynasty's productive forces.

However, the ruins require further study before a final identification can be decided, he said. For there is little first-hand information about the Xia Dynasty. Most of what is known is post-Xia collateral evidence.

At present, archaeologists hold many a different view on the Xia culture. Some argue strongly that the middle and late Longshan Culture in western Henan and the early Erlitou Culture in Longshan Culture's continuous line were all part of the Xia culture; others

maintain that the Erlitou Culture was identical to the Xia culture while the Longshan Culture was still under the shadow of primitive culture.

Other controversies about the Wangchenggang remains include differences about the date of the unearthed cities, their structural dimensions and characteristics, etc.

China began its search for the mysterious Xia culture in the early 1950s. After 20 years of efforts, archaeologists have accumulated huge amounts of archaeological data. Cultural relics and remains of that period have been brought to light in Shanxi, Shandong and Anhui Provinces as well as in other parts of Henan.

At the fourth annual meeting of the Chinese Society of Archaeology in Zhengzhou, Henan, this May, specialists discussed the research into the Xia culture and listed it as an important research project for the next few years.

## EXHIBITION

### *Art of a Minority*

An exhibition of the folk art of the Oroqens, one of China's least populous minority nationalities, opened in Beijing recently.

"Oroqen" can be translated two ways — either as "reindeer users" or as "people on the mountain." Most Oroqens prefer the latter.

Originally the Oroqens were nomads who lived in the vast primitive forests of northeast China, hunting and gathering across thousands of kilometres.

Today the majority of the 4,100 Oroqen people inhabit the Oroqen Autonomous Banner of

the Hulun Buir League, Inner Mongolia, or live in the Huma River valley in northeast China's Heilongjiang Province.

Their spoken language is a branch of the Altaic family, and they have no written language. Their religion, *Saman*, is a form of nature worship.

The Oroqens divide labour between the men, who are mainly hunters, and the women, who skin the animals, cook the meat and make the hides into clothing. The exhibition is a display of their artistry with garment embroidery. Those for men are embroidered mainly in black, sometimes inlaid with colour threads in bold and striking designs, combining a



Designs at the slits of the Oroqen women's garment.

rhomboid shape with varying representations of deerhorn.

The ornamentation of women's garments is more colourful and diversified, using rectangles, clouds and curly hair as their patterns.

The designs, embroidered with silk thread of black, red,



A box made of birch bark.

orange and blue, as well as gold and silver, have a harmonious inlaid effect.

On display are more than 300 photographs as well as 70 articles which include leather garments such as caps, gloves and coats embroidered with figures of deer, bears and butterflies as well as flowers and grass. They are combinations of Oroqen women's consummate crafts and their rich imagination.

Birch bark utensils such as basins, bowls, boxes and trunks are also on show, decorated with flowers, grass and geometric figures as well as animals. They are light and durable.

The Oroqen women also cut birch bark into various designs and figures, using them as toys, decorations or models for sculpture and embroidery.

Birch bark was used earlier than pottery by several nationalities in north China. A pottery jar made to look as if it were birch bark that was excavated in northeast China's Heilongjiang Province was judged to be a product of a primitive clan (3000 B.C.). A

cover of a 2,000-year-old Han Dynasty birch bark bowl was also unearthed in the Hulun Buir League, Inner Mongolia.

The exhibition also included photos of colour leather bags for women — brown, grey, white or orange — inlaid with symmetrical or radiant black and white geometric designs accompanied by checks and strips or corner designs.

Oroqen society had reached a late primitive period at the time of the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. The Oroqen artistic style is helpful to the study of primitive arts and culture.

## PUBLICATION

### *'Half century in Xinjiang'*

"Half Century in Xinjiang," memoirs of Al-Hajji Burhan Shahidi, will be published in the third quarter this year.

The author of this 300,000-word book is Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and Honorary President of the Islamic Association of China.

Born in 1894 to a poor overseas Uygur worker's family in Russia, Burhan returned to Xinjiang at the age of 15. He was the last governor of Xinjiang Province during the Kuomintang rule. In 1949, he declared the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang and then served as the first Chairman of the Xinjiang Provincial People's Government. He had lived in Xinjiang for half a century until 1955 when he moved to Beijing at the invitation of Premier Zhou Enlai, and was elected Vice-Chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and President of the Islamic Association of China.

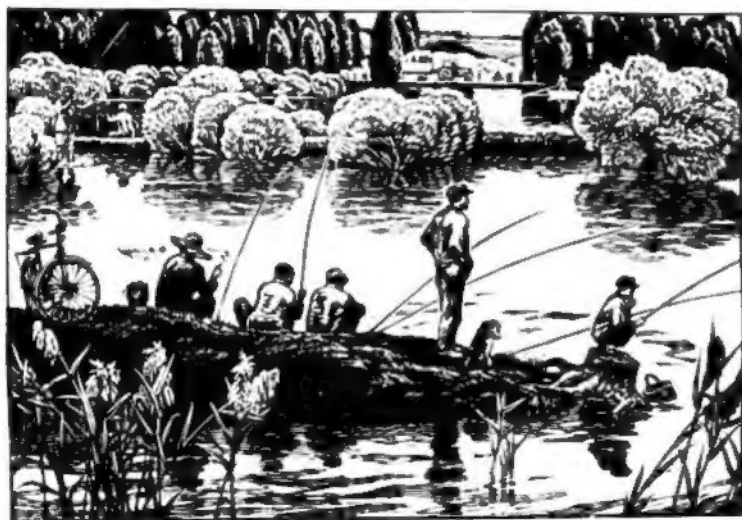
In his memoirs, 89-year-old Burhan tells about Xinjiang's political and economic situations during different historical periods from the early years of the 20th century to the 1950s, the history of Xinjiang's political power changes, significant events and personalities, as well as local conditions and customs of the Xinjiang people.

The book is divided into six chapters: "My Childhood," "Under the Rule of Yang Zengxin," "Under the Rule of Jin Shuren," "Under the Rule of Sheng Shicai," "The Kuomintang Ruling Period" and "The Peaceful Liberation of Xinjiang."

Included in the book are rarely known historical materials useful for modern historical research about Xinjiang and its minority nationalities. It also contains valuable historical photographs.



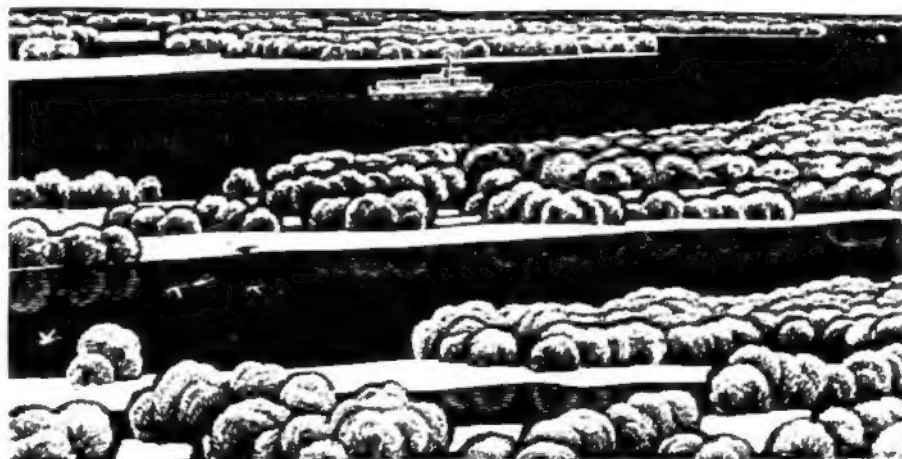
## Woodcuts by Song Yuanwen



Holiday on the Farm.



Pine Forest Under  
Moonlight



Early Snow on Heilong River.

Born in 1933 in Xinjin County, Liaoning Province. Song Yuanwen graduated in 1961 from the graphic art department of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing where he now teaches woodcut techniques.

Most of his woodcuts portray the life and natural scenes in north China.



A Lumberman.

## NEW BOOKS

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Beijing, China

Cable Address: "NEWORLD"

General Distributor

**CHINA PUBLICATIONS CENTRE**

(Guoji Shudian)

P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China.